

Message Text

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 LAGOS 09720 01 OF 03 252043Z
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 DHA-05 OMB-01
TRSE-00 CU-06 AID-05 EB-08 ARA-14 EA-12 NEA-10
OIC-02 COME-00 /137 W
-----058540 252124Z /70

O 251751Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3263

USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE 2491

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY JOHANNESBURG IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 LAGOS 09720

FROM USDEL; UNA FOR HOLLOWAY; USUN FOR OFFENBURGER

E. O. 11652: NA

TAGS: PORG, NI, SF, US, SHUM

SUBJ: LAGOS CONFERENCE: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S SPEECH

FOLLOWING IS THE FULL TEXT OF AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S ADDRESS
BEFORE THE WORLDCONFERENCE ON ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID
DELIVERED AUGUST 25, 1977 IN LAGOS:

BEGIN TEXT: MR. PRESIDENT, I MUST BEGIN BY TAKING A CERTAIN LIBERTY
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 LAGOS 09720 01 OF 03 252043Z

WITH YOUR REQUEST THAT WE NOT WASTE CONFERENCE TIME BY
CONGRATULATING YOU ON YOUR SELECTION AS PRESIDENT OF THIS
CONFERENCE. I AM NOT SO MUCH CONGRATULATING YOU FOR THIS,
HOWEVER, AS I AM CONGRATULATING YOU AND THE GOVERNMENT OF
NIGERIA FOR YOUR CONTINUED EFFORT IN SUPPORT OF LIBERATION
THROUGHOUT THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA. I SHARE THE GENUINE AND
GENEROUS CONCERN THAT THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF NIGERIA

HAVE HAD FOR OPPRESSED PEOPLES EVERYWHERE.

I AM GRATEFUL THAT IN MY CONVERSATIONS WITH YOUR HEAD OF STATE, HE NEVER CEASES TO ASK HOW WE ARE GETTING ALONG IN THE UNITED STATES. HE UNDERSTANDS THAT WE, TOO, ARE ENGAGED IN A LIBERATION STRUGGLE.

THE GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA, IN ITS CONTINUED COMMITMENT TO THE STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID, IS AS RESPONSIBLE AS ANY OTHER FACTOR IN TODAY'S WORLD FOR THE PROGRESS AND MOVEMENT THAT WE ARE MAKING ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.

NIGERIA, IN A UNIQUE WAY, IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE NEW SENSITIVITY OF THE WEST. AND THE FACT IS, NIGERIA'S GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT GIVES THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA A NEW VOICE, A NEW POWER TO BE RECKONED WITH. THE FACT THAT NIGERIA IS EXERCISING ITS POWER IN A STATESMANLIKE, WISE AND RESTRAINED FASHION ADDS TO ITS CREDIBILITY AND EFFECT.

THIS CONFERENCE, BY VIRTUE OF ITS BEING HELD IN LAGOS, ASSUMES ENORMOUS IMPORTANCE. WHAT WE DO HERE WILL BE VALUED, NOT NECESSARILY BY THE SOUND OF OUR RHETORIC, BUT BY THE FACT THAT ONE HUNDRED NATIONS HAVE GATHERED TO DEDICATE AND DEVOTE THEMSELVES TO A CONTINUING STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID.

I HAVE BEEN INTERESTED AND SOMEWHAT AMUSED--AS I HAVE
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 LAGOS 09720 01 OF 03 252043Z

LISTENED TO THE MANY SPEECHES--TO FIND THAT MY GOVERNMENT, ALONG WITH MANY OTHERS, HAS BEEN CONDEMNED, BLAMED AND BLASTED FOR ITS IMPERIALISM, NEOCOLONIALISM, CAPITALISM OR WHAT HAVE YOU. I MUST CONFESS THAT I HOPE THAT MUCH OF THAT IS IN THE PAST. BUT I MUST ADMIT ALSO THAT MUCH OF IT IS STILL PRESENT. HOWEVER, REALISTICALLY FACING THE PATH THAT IS BEFORE US, I WOULD CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT WE ARE PROBABLY MUCH MORE CONDEMNED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA THAN WE HAVE BEEN BY THIS CONFERENCE.

RECENT RHETORIC COMING FROM PRETORIA CHARGES THAT THE UNITED IS TRYING TO PULL THE RUG OUT FROM UNDER WHITE SOUTH AFRICA: THAT UNITED STATES POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA GIVES NO CHANCE FOR SURVIVAL: AND THAT THE UNITED STATES IS TRYING TO FORCE SOUTH AFRICA TO NEGOTIATE ITS OWN DESTRUCTION. PRIME MINISTER VORSTER HAS CHARACTERIZED OUR POLICY AS "STRANGULATION BY FINESSE."

JUST AS I CANNOT ACCEPT THE CONDEMNATIONS OF THIS CONFERENCE, NEITHER CAN I ACCEPT THE CONDEMNATION OR THE CREDIT THAT AGREEMENT WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT MIGHT ENGENDER. OUR POSITION IS MORE IN KEEPING WITH THE APPROACH RECOMMENDED BY THE HEAD OF STATE OF THE

GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA, GENERAL OBASANJO. IT IS HIS VIEW THAT WE SHOULD RATIONALLY ANALYZE THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA, DISCUSS THE ALTERNATIVES, AND ATTEMPT TO FIND REALISTIC SOLUTIONS. THIS IS THE KIND OF APPROACH THAT THE U.S., AS A NATION MADE UP DEMOCRATICALLY OF MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED MILLION PEOPLE, CAN SUPPORT. IT WOULD NOT MAKE MUCH SENSE FOR US TO MAKE AGREEMENTS HERE THAT WOULD BE REFUTED BY OUR CONGRESS OR REPUDIATED BY OUR PEOPLE.

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 LAGOS 09720 02 OF 03 252054Z
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 DHA-05 OMB-01
TRSE-00 CU-06 AID-05 EB-08 ARA-14 EA-12 NEA-10
OIC-02 COME-00 /137 W

-----058764 252126Z /70

O 251751Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3264

USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE 2492

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY JOHANNESBURG IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 3 LAGOS 09720

OUR CHALLENGE IS TO HARNESS A TRILLION DOLLAR ECONOMY--
A MASSIVE SYSTEM WHICH CAN WORK IN THE SERVICE OF A MORAL
AND RESPONSIBLE POLICY TOWARD THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA AS A
WHOLE. WE ARE NOT WITHOUT EXPERIENCE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST
APARTHIED, ALTHOUGH SOME IN AFRICA SAY THAT OUR EXPERIENCE IS
IRRELEVANT. THEY SAY THAT THE SITUATION WE HAVE KNOWN IN THE
UNITED STATES IS COMPLETELY DIFFERENT FROM THE SITUATION
WHICH NOW EXISTS IN AFRICA. I DON'T CARE TO ARGUE THAT POINT.

BUT FOR A HUNDRED YEARS WE STRUGGLED AGAINST OUR OWN VERSION
OF DISCRIMINATION AND INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM WHICH
FOLLOWING UPON TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF SLAVERY AND WE STILL HAVE
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 LAGOS 09720 02 OF 03 252054Z

NOT OVERCOME ALL OF THE BURDEN IMPOSED UPON OUR SOCIETY
BY THAT EXPERIENCE.

THE MAJORITY OF MY LIFE WAS LIVED UNDER A VERY RIGID
AND VIOLENT SYSTEM OF APARTHEID. WHEN I SPEAK OF APARTHEID,
I THINK I SPEAK WITH THE SAME PASSION, THE SAME CONVICTION
AND MUCH OF THE SAME EMOTION THAT WE SAW IN PRESIDENT KAUNDA
AT THE OPENING OF THIS CONFERENCE. WE HAVE, HOWEVER, MADE
TREMENDOUS PROGRESS IN THE PAST FEW DECADES. AND THAT
PROGRESS SHOULD ACCELERATE UNDER THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION
BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD

AS A RESULT OF THAT CONTINUING STRUGGLE WE DO KNOW
SOMETHING ABOUT THE SICKNESS OF RACISM AND APARTHEID. WE
KNOW THAT THIS IS A SICKNESS WHICH, LIKE CANCER, EATS AWAY
AT THE INNER STRUCTURES OF SOCIETY. IT CAN VERY WELL BE A
TERMINAL ILLNESS BOTH SPIRITUALLY AND PHYSICALLY. BUT WE
ALSO KNOW THAT IT IS A DISEASE THAT CAN BE CURED AND THAT
IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO KILL THE PATIENT IN ORDER TO CURE
THE DISEASE. IF ONE IS TO APPROACH THE PROBLEM OF APARTHEID
RATIONALLY AND NOT JUST WITH RHETORICAL CONDEMNATION AND
SLOGANS, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE CLEARLY DEFINE OUR OBJECTIVES.
NO ONE AT THIS CONFERENCE OR IN ANY MEETING OF THE ORGANIZATION
OF AFRICAN UNITY HAS EVER CALLED FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF FOUR
MILLION WHITE CITIZENS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

FOREIGN MINISTER CHISSANO OF MOZAMBIQUE, SOUTH AFRICA'S
NEXT DOOR NEIGHBOR, ISSUED A VERY ELOQUENT INVITATION TO ALL
SOUTH AFRICANS TO JOIN IN THE THE BUILDING OF A NON-RACIST SOCIETY.
I THINK THIS IS AN OBJECTIVE THAT WE CAN ALL SHARE. IN JUNE
OF THIS YEAR OUR VICE PRESIDENT, WALTER MONDALE, MET WITH
PRIME MINISTER VORSTER TO CONVEY A MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 LAGOS 09720 02 OF 03 252054Z

CARTER AND THE ENTIRE UNITED STATES CABINET. HE SAID THAT OUR
POLICY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA IS ROOTED IN A FIRM COMMITMENT TO THE
PROGRESSIVE TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY, TOWARD
MAJORITY RULE AND AN END TO APARTHEID. ONLY AS WE WORK TOWARD
THAT END, IN AS RAPID AND AGGRESSIVE A MANNER AS POSSIBLE,
CAN WE HOPE TO SAVE SOUTH AFRICA FROM THE VIOLENT AND CATAclysmic

EFFECTS OF CONTINUED APARTHEID.

MANY OF US SHARE THESE OBJECTIVES, BUT IT IS INEVITABLE THAT WE
WILL DIFFER ON TACTICS AND METHODS OF ACHIEVING THEM. OUR UNITY MUST
DEPEND ON OUR MUTUAL RESPECT FOR THE DIVERSITY OF OUR APPROACHES.
WE MAY ARGUE AND DISAGREE ON RESOLUTIONS. OUR GOVERNMENTS WILL DECIDE
ON DIFFERENT APPROACHES, BUT OUR GOALS MUST REMAIN THE SAME.

I DON'T BELIEVE IN VIOLENCE. I'VE FOUGHT VIOLENCE IN MY
OWN COUNTRY. I AM DETERMINED THAT THE UNITED NATIONS CONTINUE
AS ONE INSTITUTION THAT IS DEVOTED TO PEACEFUL CHANGE.
AND YET I HAVE NEVER CONDEMNED ANOTHER MAN'S RIGHT TO TAKE
UP ARMS IN PURSUIT OF HIS FREEDOM.

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 LAGOS 09720 03 OF 03 252057Z
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 DHA-05 OMB-01
TRSE-00 CU-06 AID-05 EB-08 ARA-14 EA-12 NEA-10
OIC-02 COME-00 /137 W
-----058832 252124Z /70

O 251751Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3265
USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE 2493
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY JOHANNESBURG IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 3 OF 3 LAGOS 09720

TOO OFTEN, HOWEVER, THE ARMED STRUGGLE IS ADVOCATED MOST
VIGOROUSLY BY THOSE WHO ARE THOUSANDS OF MILES AWAY AND WHOSE
ONLY CONTRIBUTION TO THE STRUGGLE IS THE RHETORIC OF BITTERNESS

AND FRUSTRATION. AT THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE I HAD A CONVERSATION WITH A YOUNG FRELIMO FREEDOM FIGHTER WHO SPOKE PROFOUNDLY OF HIS OWN EXPERIENCE IN DEALING WITH VIOLENCE. HE SAID TO ME, "I STARTED KILLING WHEN I WAS FOURTEEN YEARS OLD, AND WHEN YOU WATCH YOUR COMRADES SUFFER AND DIE, YOU DEVELOP A DEEP RESPECT FOR HUMAN LIFE." AND HE DESCRIBED AN ATTACK ON A PORTUGUESE BASE IN WHICH MANY WERE KILLED ON BOTH SIDES. BUT AFTER WINNING THE BATTLE, THEY PLACED ALL OF THE WOUNDED SIDE BY SIDE.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 LAGOS 09720 03 OF 03 252057Z

FRELIMO AND PORTUGUESE AND THOSE WHO WERE UNHARMED GAVE THEIR BLOOD TO FRIEND AND FOE ALIKE. ON THIS KIND OF HUMANISM YOU CAN BUILD A PEACEFUL WORLD.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES BUT THE POWER WHICH COMES FROM THE BEST THAT IS WITHIN US WILL PREVAIL. I AM CONFIDENT THAT EVEN IN SOUTH AFRICA THERE IS A NATION WAITING TO BE BORN OUT OF JUST SUCH IDEALISM. WHY SHOULD I BE SO CONFIDENT? I KNOW VERY WELL HOW QUICKLY THE TIDES OF HISTORY CAN SHIFT. TEN YEARS AGO I WOULD NOT HAVE BELIEVED THAT A PERSON SUCH AS JIMMY CARTER COULD EVEN EXIST IN RURAL GEORGIA, MUSH LESS BECOME PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. NOR WOULD I HAVE BELIEVED THAT PORTUGAL AND SPAIN OR EVEN GREECE WOULD SO SOON BECOME PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACIES. TOTALITARIAN STATES AND OPPRESSIVE REGIMES FALL SUDDENLY AND WITHOUT MUCH WARNING. IT IS NOT NAIVE TO BELIEVE IN THE FUTURE WHEN ONE IS ALSO COMMITTED TO WORK FOR THE FULFILLMENT OF ONE'S DREAMS.

THERE IS AN EMERGING CONSENSUS ABOUT AFRICA'S FUTURE, FIRST IN MAPUTO AND NOW IN LAGOS. THERE IS A BUILDING OF A MAJORITY OF WORLD OPINION FOR ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID. FROM CHILDREN IN SOWETO MERELY ASKING FOR A RELEVANT EDUCATION, THERE AWAKENED A NEW SENSITIVITY WHICH SPREAD THROUGHOUT THE GOVERNMENTS OF AFRICA AND THE WORLD. FROM THE PRIVATE ACTIONS OF COLLEGE STUDENTS TO WALL STREET BANKS, THERE IS A NEW SENSITIVITY TO WHICH THE GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON APARTHEID HAVE ADDED A NEW CHAPTER. BUT THE SUCCESS OF THIS CONFERENCE WILL NOT BE DETERMINED BY WHAT WE AGREE TO ON PAPER, BUT BY THE ACTIONS WE TAKE IN THE WEEKS AND MONTHS TO COME. THE STRUGGLE MUST CONTINUE. END TEXT.

EASUM

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TEXT, APARTHEID, SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 25-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977LAGOS09720
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770307-1203
Format: TEL
From: LAGOS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770824/aaaaauas.tel
Line Count: 322
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: f8687053-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1489043
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: LAGOS CONFERENCE: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S SPEECH FOLLOWING IS THE FULL TEXT OF AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S ADDRESS BEFORE THE WORLDCONFERENCE ON ACTION AGAINST APART
TAGS: PORG, SHUM, NI, SF, US, (YOUNG, ANDREW)
To: STATE USUN NEW YORK
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/f8687053-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009